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ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

TOMPKINS COUNTY

COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AT THEIR THIRD ANNIVERSARY,

HELD IN ITHACA, MARCH 4, 1834.

BY REV. H. L. MILLER,
OF TRUMANSBURG.

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ADDRESS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—

WE have assembled this evening to turn our attention toward the American Colonization Society—to investigate its claims upon our approbation and support—to learn what it has accomplished and what it may reasonably be expected to accomplish for our own nation—for those on whose behalf more particularly it was formed, and for long neglected and deeply injured Africa; and if this Society be truly deserving, to bestir ourselves in our efforts to aid it in its benevolent enterprises.

In presenting this subject to your notice, I shall endeavour to furnish you with facts rather than argument. These facts it is your province to weigh. But, if I have not mistaken their import, they must, to every reflecting mind, carry the conviction that the plan of Colonizing the free coloured population of the United States upon the shores of their native country, is the only practicable plan of delivering ourselves from a great and growing evil, and of restoring them to the privileges and blessings to which, as men, they are entitled.

The American Colonization Society was formed in the winter of 1816. The plan originated with the Rev. Robert Finley, of Basking Ridge, N. J. The following communication of his views and feelings in relation to this momentous subject, in a letter to a friend, dated February 14th, 1815, is highly interesting:—"The longer I live" says he, "to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labour to execute, plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject the state of the free blacks has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them: nor

is there much prospect that their state can be greatly meliorated while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise some means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established? Could they be sent back to Africa, a threefold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them. We should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized for its benefit; and our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation."

With these benevolent views, Mr. Finley repaired to Washington, where he succeeded in enlisting the feelings of several distinguished men in favour of his plan, and in organizing a society the 23rd of December, 1816.

After the organization of the Society, four years were spent in selecting a spot for the future colony, in making preparations for its settlement, and in securing the favourable opinion of the publick.—Like every other benevolent institution, the society had to encounter prejudices and opposition. The jealousies of the two grand sections of our country, the North and the South, were arrayed against it. In it, the South saw or pretended to see, a Northern scheme to diminish their political power, to stir up a spirit of discontent and rebellion among their slaves, and thus to compel them to put an end to slavery. Equally jealous, the North pretended to see in the society a scheme of the South to send off the free blacks, whose presence and influence with the slaves were dangerous, in order more easily to perpetuate slavery, and secure themselves against the evils and dangers arising from oppression. With many, the magnitude of the undertaking

was such as to destroy confidence in its practicability. But confiding in the justice of its cause and in the good sense and benevolent feelings of the people, the society addressed itself to the work of removing prejudices; of disarming opposition; of demonstrating the practicability of its plans, and of securing the co-operation of the publick. And how well it has succeeded in this respect, may be learned from the fact that fourteen states have passed resolutions approving the plan of Colonization, and that almost every ecclesiastical body in the United States has recommended the society to the patronage of the christian community. This is no small testimony in its favour; and among its warmest advocates and most efficient supporters, are many distinguished men, deservedly high in the confidence and gifts of the people of the United States.

In December 1820, the site for the Colony at Cape Montserado was purchased. From this time "the efficient operations of the society should be dated." Its efforts since then have been prosecuted with a zeal and success, as must be confessed by all, heretofore unknown in the history of planting colonies. What has been done since 1820, I shall show in another place. At every step of its progress, in its trials as well as success, the fostering care of an all wise Providence is distinctly to be seen, and gives assurance, to all who watch the movings of his hand as indicative of future designs, that the great and good work of regenerating Africa shall be accomplished.

The object of the American Colonization Society is, as appears from its Constitution, to aid in Colonizing the free people of colour, with their consent, on the coast of Africa; and also such of the slaves as may be manumitted for that purpose. As long as the slaves remain in that condition, the society does not seek to interfere with them. To the south it says, we interfere not with the question of slavery; we are not the agitators of that question; but while you are groaning under the evils of a system which entails upon you the presence and support of an increasing coloured population, we offer you a remedy and seek your co-operation in removing to the Colony in Af-

rica, all who are willing to colonize, and all you will give up to us for that object. To the north it says, while you, as well as we, deprecate the evils of slavery—while you long for the time to come, when not a slave shall breathe in these United States—aware as you must be, that immediate abolition is, under present circumstances, impracticable, let your kindness be shown to the free coloured population, and aid us, in some substantial form of benevolence, to do, for them, the only thing that promises to be of any material benefit. However widely separated on the question of slavery—however discordant their sentiments as to the nature and proper remedy of the evil—the North and the South may both cordially unite their efforts to secure the benevolent objects of this society—to rescue the black from degradation and crime—to raise him to wealth and honour in his native land, and to free our country from what Mr. Madison aptly denominates the "dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country and filled so many with despair."

Here let me observe, that because the society does not, according to its constitution, directly interfere with slavery, it is said, that the American Colonization Society tends to perpetuate Slavery.—This is not true. Its influence on the system of Slavery, though indirect, is nevertheless more powerful than any direct influence which, under present circumstances, can be exerted. The society is not the advocate of Slavery—nor on the other hand is it the opposer of abolition. If the emancipation of the entire Slave population of our country, is ever effected, the Society is aware it must be done, by showing to the Slave holder that it will be better for the Slave to be set free, than to be held in bondage. An appeal is to be made to his benevolence rather than to his sense of justice. Many who now hold slaves are benevolent, christian men. They feel that their Slaves have been thrown upon their hands as a charge to be maintained, rather than property. They believe the religion of Jesus Christ binds them to take care of—to feed and provide for their Slaves, instead of sending them out upon the world to fall into temptation and

vice. They have long seen and wept over the wretchedness of the free coloured population. They have observed the jealousy with which the black is regarded, and the cruelty with which he is every where treated, in the North as well as the South. And they cannot be induced, with such a prospect before them to turn away their slaves, without a home or a guardian, to certain poverty and wretchedness, if not crime. And who can show that the Gospel requires them to do this? They believe their slaves to be in better circumstances than the free coloured population. And in many instances, they have good ground for their belief. These men are not the advocates of Slavery in the abstract; they acknowledge it to be wrong. But they are the advocates of a benevolent regard on the part of the master for the welfare of those who have been entrusted to his care. If slavery is ever voluntarily abolished in our land, men of this character must lead the way—And such men can be influenced only by this Society; and over them its influence is powerful. They cannot resist it without doing violence to their own benevolent feelings. When they turn their attention towards this Society, they behold the same benevolent regard which they feel for the best interests of the black man; they behold it removing him from the situation in which his freedom would, in this land, necessarily place him, and giving him liberty and blessedness in the land of his fathers. And they perceive that this society is doing far more for the Slave than they can do for him. In view of these facts, they feel the high obligations that bind them to give up their Slaves to be Colonized. One thousand of the happy freemen in Liberia were the Slaves of such masters. Many more stand ready to do the same. And many more will be ready as the Colony enlarges and flourishes. In this benevolent way this society exerts its influence—It proposes not abolition merely, but the doing mere good to the Slave than simply setting him free. By such means Slavery will be rooted out of our land, and the most substantial benefits will be conferred upon the slave—benefits worth more than the name of freedom, while the black man is doomed to

be the dregs of society—the very lowest class in civilized community.

The charge then is not true that the tendency of this Society is to perpetuate Slavery. On the other hand, its tendency is to abolish slavery by the strong moral influence it exerts through its kindness to this degraded class of community. Let the abolitionist show them the same kindness and he will bring down upon his head the blessing of all good men.

An interesting enquiry here arises—Can this society accomplish what it proposes to do? Does it furnish a well grounded hope that it will ever be able to remove the Coloured population of our land to the shores of Africa and establish them there in flourishing Colonies?

To these questions, the friends of the Society reply in the affirmative. As pioneers in this good work, they intend to move forward, till flourishing Colonies shall be established which shall hold out sufficient inducements to all who are able to defray their own expenses thither. Nor is the time far distant, when the different states will seriously take up this matter and make large appropriations in aid of the cause. It is confidently expected, there will be no lack of the necessary means and that every individual who desires to emigrate will be aided by the general government or by the state legislatures, or by the munificence of private individuals.

Some of the most distinguished men in the nation and efficient friends of the Colonization Society are looking to the lands of the nation as a source from which pecuniary aid may be derived. All the States in the Union are interested in the removal of the coloured population and no valid objection can be made therefore to appropriating to this object the revenue derived from the sale of the Public Lands.

“I never considered,” says Mr. Madison, “the main difficulty of the great work as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in an inadequacy of asylums, for such a growing mass of population and in the great expense of removing it to its new home. With respect to the new abode for the emigrants all agree, that, the choice made by the society is

rendered peculiarly appropriate by considerations, which need not be repeated and if other situations should not be found eligible receptacles for a portion of them, the prospects in Africa seem to be expanding in a highly encouraging degree. In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund, presented in the western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known, that distinguished patriots, not dwelling in slave holding States, have viewed the object in that light and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it."

"The removal," says Chief Justice Marshall, "of our coloured population, is, I think, a common object by no means confined to the Slave States, although they are more immediately interested in it.—The whole union would be strengthened by it and relieved from a danger, whose extent can scarcely be estimated. It lessens very much, in my estimation the objection, in a political view, to the application of this ample fund, that our lands are becoming an object, for which the States are to scramble and which threatens to sow the seeds of discord among us, instead of being what they might be, a source of national wealth."

But whatever constitutional objections may be made to appropriating the revenue derived from the sale of the public lands to the removal of the coloured population from our land to the continent of Africa, the different States have an undisputed right to make, to this object, what appropriations they please. The legislature of Maryland has already appropriated \$200,000, and Virginia has given \$90,000, in aid of colonization.—Other states will undoubtedly follow, on an enlarged scale of munificence. And when, by the success of the society's efforts, incredulity and prejudice shall be sufficiently rebuked, when the benevolent and practicable plans of the society shall be more thoroughly considered and better understood, and when the good it promises, shall begin to be reaped, in

much greater abundance, the whole nation, it is confidently to be expected, will move forward, in one grand concentration of effort, to furnish the society with all the aid it requires.

The next enquiry is what has been done already by the Society?

In 1820 the Colony of Liberia was established. In 1821 it consisted of 140 inhabitants—in 1824 of 240—in 1832 of 2061 besides 400 Africans who were recaptured and restored to their country, at the expense of the United States—the population, of the Colony, is now something more than 3,000.

In the short space of fourteen years from its commencement, a Colony is established, containing more than 3,000 inhabitants of whom, one thousand are emancipated Slaves. A government is formed which secures to the Colonists, the right of suffrage, trial by jury and all the privileges of a free, independent and self governed people. The native tribes, in the vicinity, are forming alliances with the Colonists and submitting to their laws and customs, in preference to their own. Schools, for the children of the Colony, have been established, and flourishing churches, of different denominations, have been gathered. The commerce of the Colony is thriving and an increasing attention to the interests of agriculture, is manifested.

"The residents of Liberia," says a late writer in the North American Review, "declare, that a more fertile soil and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, on the face of the earth. Its hills and plains are covered with a verdure that never fades—the productions of nature keep on in their growth, through all the seasons of the year. All the best products of the tropicks, with many others which are favourites in temperate countries, flourish, either spontaneously or under moderate labour. From the testimony of Englishmen we are assured that the character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral—their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings—their manners serious and decorous, and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. A distinguished British naval officer has recently published his con-

viction, that the success which has attended the American Colony in Africa, is a complete proof that such experiments are not of a fanciful or impracticable nature. The American negro, unchanged by the residence of generations in America, has proved that, in the native latitude of his ancestors, he is for the first time, at home, and in the words of the same British officer, the complete success of this Colony is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race of human beings."

The history of this colony shows, when compared with others, an unexampled success attending the efforts made to establish it—less of suffering and of loss of human life and a more rapid advancement to wealth and greatness. The exports of this colony amounted, in 1831, to \$83,911 and in 1832, to \$120,000. Many of the colonists have made themselves independently rich. Capt. Abels, of the schooner *Margaret Mercer*, who visited Liberia in the winter of 1831 and 1832, states that all his expectations, in regard to the aspect of things—the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry and general prosperity of the Colonists, were more than realized. In the town of Monrovia there are about two hundred buildings, most of which are good substantial houses and stores, and some of them handsome, spacious, painted and with Venetian blinds. Nothing struck him as more remarkable than the great superiority in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress and general appearance, in every respect, of the Colonists over their brethren in America. Among all with whom he conversed he did not find a discontented person or hear one express a wish to return to America. He saw no intemperance nor did he hear any one utter a profane word. On Christmas day, being a minister of the gospel, he preached, both in the Methodist and Baptist Churches, to full and attentive congregations, of from three to four hundred persons in each. He adds, that he knows of no place, where the Sabbath is more respected—that most of the settlers are rapidly acquiring wealth and doing better for themselves and children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world.

Any further testimony to the prosperity of the colony I need not introduce to your notice. If necessary, much more is at hand. Unbelief, distrust, and prejudice must yield to the clearness, impartiality and directness of the testimony given by numbers who have visited Liberia and seen the things whereof they affirm.

Now let it again be asked what has the Colonization Society done? and the answer is—It has demonstrated beyond contradiction, the practicability of colonizing the colored population of America on the shores of their native country. It has placed 3,000 of them in far happier and better circumstances, than would have been their lot if they had remained in the United States. It has given them a government founded on equal rights and popular representation, which they could not have enjoyed here. It has rendered them enterprising, industrious, contented and happy—elevated their character and standing and rendered them susceptible to the impression and influence of motives which, as things are in this nation, they would never have felt or regarded. Still more has it done, in gaining for itself the increasing confidence and patronage of an enlightened European and American public and in a measure allaying the fears of those who saw no hope of the bloodless deliverance of our country from a great and alarming evil. On the continent of Africa it has laid the foundation of a vast republic, and in the words of Henry Clay, "holds out the brightening prospect of regenerating, civilizing and elevating to happiness, from the lowest condition of human wretchedness," fifty millions of our fellow men. All this it has done and much more in the moral influence it is exerting over all who have witnessed the success of its benevolent efforts.

I come now to the main inquiry—what are the benefits to be derived from a successful prosecution of the Colonization effort? I answer,

1st. To our own country it offers the benefits of peace and union.

The more the question of immediate abolition of slavery is agitated and pressed at the north, the more is opposition to such a measure increased at the South. Such a result is very naturally to be expected. Immediate abolition is impracticable.

cable without the consent of the South, which cannot at present be obtained by persuasion or by force. Too much property, more its estimated than 500,000,000 of dollars, is invested in slaves in the slave holding states. This consideration will, with a majority of them, have weight and influence. Men will not ordinarily become bankrupts at once, by throwing their property out of their hands. The South denies the right of the North to meddle, by political action, with the question of slavery. And the moment you begin to render them bankrupts by legislation, that moment, not a single state, but the whole, will nullify and secede from the Union.

The South believes, and who can question the truth, that a majority of the slaves are now in a better condition than they would be, if manumitted and suffered to remain where they are. And something else must be done to convince them to the contrary, besides pressing the duty of immediate abolition, regardless of consequences. Many abolitionists feel the force of this consideration and reply to it, that they do not wish immediate abolition to be effected *immediately*—not till it can be done with safety and benefit to all who are concerned. And nothing is so effectually preparing the way of the removal of slavery as seeking to elevate the character and standing of the coloured population by removing them where they can be indeed free, not only from the chains of slavery, but free from the presence and prejudice of a more numerous and powerful white population.

The whites and the blacks, in the proportion they exist in the Southern States, cannot live together in a state of freedom. From this and the considerations already named it must be evident to all who will take the pains to reflect upon them, that it is exceedingly dangerous to the welfare of our country to agitate the question of immediate abolition. But can nothing therefore be done? Shall we fold our arms and sit down in despair while the evil increases and the demand for some remedy becomes more urgent?

An united and harmonious effort may be made through the Colonization Society, by the North and by the South, and thus the evil, of which both complain,

may, to say the least, be held in check, till the time fully arrives for the emancipating and colonizing in his own country, every son of Africa. The jarring interests of the two grand sections of our country, so far as slavery is concerned, may here harmonize in affording substantial benefit to the whole, to the negro and to Africa, and the peace and union of these United States, now threatened with danger from this quarter, may yet be preserved.

"Two things," says Mr. Gurley, "have operated in the United States against emancipation. 1. Apprehensions on the part of the South, of rash and dangerous interference from the North.—And 2dly, fears that abolition could not be effected without producing greater evils than slavery itself. By the Colonization Society both the obstacles have, in a great measure, been removed."

Before the abolition of slavery can be consummated, the consent of the South is to be obtained. In the Colonization society is to be found the least objectionable plan which has yet been devised to promote abolition—For this reason and because of the good they see it conferring upon the coloured population, the South is generally disposed to adopt it. No plan of emancipation can receive their sanction which proposes to leave their slaves among them to be led into crime and to endanger their safety. By removing their colored population to Africa and there placing them in a situation to enjoy liberty—to rise above their present depressed and abject condition—to feel the motives which prompt to honorable action and the inducements to sober, industrious and virtuous living, completely takes away all fears of greater evils arising from abolition than slavery itself.

Ebenevolence toward the colored population—its promise of good to Africa—its immense moral influence on the system of slavery—and its adoption by the south are so many reasons why the north should approve of and sustain the Colonization society. Every obstacle to emancipation will then be removed. Mutual confidence will thus be created and mutual aid afforded in removing an evil which presses heavily upon our common country.

How very naturally might all parties

turn to the Colonization Society and behold, in its noiseless yet onward course,—effecting gradually yet certainly, what all desire to have accomplished, the harbinger of undisturbed peace and prosperity to our Union. Even the advocate of immediate abolition might, in this society, find sufficient room to show the expansiveness of that benevolence he professes to feel toward his fellow man in bondage. And while here labouring he might find, what he is now slow to admit, that nothing tends so powerfully to promote the emancipation he demands as showing to the slave holder that benevolence and justice both require of him to restore to liberty and happiness in his own native land, the slave in whose welfare he professes to be so deeply interested. In the American Colonization Society an invitation to peaceful concert is furnished to men of all parties and all creeds, who feel for the poor and despised, who can rejoice in the peace and prosperity of our beloved country and who have benevolence enough to do one good deed for the salvation of the fifty millions of Africa.

This is the attitude in which this society stands in relation to our country, mediating between the contending interests, so far as slavery is concerned, of the North and the South, and uniting in one common effort, the benevolence of both. It is the pledge of mutual confidence; it rebukes the spirit of discord—while under the auspices of a benignant Providence, bearing in its hand the olive branch of peace, it goes steadily and patiently forward in the work of our own and Africa's redemption.

2. To the free black who is willing to colonize, the society offers a home in his own native land, and civil and social advantages which he cannot ever expect to enjoy in this country. The extent of this benefit can scarcely be estimated.

In the United States we have a population of 300,000 free blacks, with an annual increase of from six to seven thousand. As a class they are of little benefit to the productive wealth of the country—proscribed by the antipathy every where to be found to the race—the fruitful source of vice and crime—the prey of an untold amount of wretchedness—proverbially degraded—indolent and improvident—

lost, by their very situation in society, by the estimation in which they are universally held, to the higher inducements to virtue and sobriety which influence the white man, and without one cheering hope of ever arising to an equality with him, civilly or socially. What can they do? Nothing short of complete citizenship will ever elevate them; and this, so necessary, so indispensable to their elevation, they never can have in America. If it be given them by law, publick sentiment is stronger than law and will withhold it from them. It is only in amalgamation that any hope of their citizenship can be reposed; and that this ever ought to, or can or will be effected, I know of no respectable man who seriously believes. A mightier, more wonderful change than has ever yet occurred, must take place before two races of men, separated so widely by feature and colour and other things, will amalgamate into one.

It is elsewhere then that our free coloured population must seek the advancement of their degraded condition—where they can be free indeed—be eligible to office—administer the affairs of their own government—become citizens, rulers, legislators—the guardians, the conservators of their own rights, unsurrounded by the presence of a population constantly reminding them of their servitude and degradation.

Lest this should be doubted by any who have not duly considered the facts in the case, let us look a little more in detail at the condition of the free people of colour throughout the United States.

It is well known that the blacks are generally considered as belonging to the very lowest class in society, constituting a distinct and separate people against which the feelings and prejudices of the white population are arrayed. Sufficient is it for us to know that this has been and is at present the case; and when it will be otherwise we have no means of foretelling. The present furnishes us with no very favourable indications of a change for the better. No principle of benevolence binds us to make them our companions and associates—to raise them to posts of honour and offices of trust—to engage them in professional services, or to smal-

gamate with them in the various relations of life. Their employments—their associations—their situation in society, their habits and colour—every thing is against them.

“It is the settled policy of my own native state,” says Gerrit Smith, of Peterborough, in one of his late speeches, “to keep this people vile by withholding from them every inducement to well-doing. We make even the gift of freedom a mockery.”

The Rev. Mr. Breckenridge, of Baltimore observes—“the free people of colour must go away or perish. If any one doubts this, let him come to Baltimore and I will show it to him. There he will find, that our lawyers will not admit a coloured man to the bar, nor our druggists to their profession. Our hack stands show few men of colour. Even our draymen are nearly all white. We exclude the coloured man from every employment in which men can rise. And they are there perishing for the want of daily food.”

“In almost every state in the Union, the coloured people are subject to legal disabilities, more or less severe.” A law of Louisiana prevents the introduction of free people of colour into that state. A gentleman of that state recently petitioned the legislature for permission to educate his slaves on his giving bond and security to send them out of the state in three years. His request was denied.

The Wilberforce colony in Canada, whose agent has been among us soliciting aid, was originally expelled from Virginia, and subsequently from Ohio, by a law which required each individual to give five hundred dollars security for good behaviour, and his not becoming a charge to the state. In Canada they are regarded with jealousy.

A free coloured person who enters North Carolina is subjected to a fine of \$500, and if the fine be not paid, he is sold as a slave. Georgia will not suffer a free coloured person to come within her territory, and Maryland and the slave holding states generally, require the removal of the slave as the condition of his emancipation.

In view of these facts, however deeply to be deplored, I ask again, what can

the free people of colour do? With all this weight of law and prejudice against them, they cannot rise. The wonder is why they are not sunk immeasurably lower than they are.

The Society offers them a home where they will not feel these untoward circumstances and embarrassments.—“Every thing there will strengthen their faculties, kindle their invention, and arouse their souls to action.” With a prospect of success, they may there aim at the highest honours and enjoy the civil and social advantages which prompt to effort and foster enterprise, virtue, industry and all the noble feelings in the nature of man. Every Christian, Philanthropist and Patriot in the land should second the efforts of the Society thus to elevate and establish them. There is no benevolence like this, which the Society offers to the negro. In this land every prospect of surmounting the obstacles in the way of his advancement, is forever destroyed. But in his own land he may rise, and under the impulses to which his heart is now dead, the powers that lie crushed and buried in him, will be developed in elevating himself to honour and happiness.

3. Another benefit to be derived from a successful prosecution of the Colonization effort, is the removing a great moral and political evil.

In the United States there are two millions of slaves, with an annual increase of sixty thousand. Slavery is an evil, and will soon come to an end, in the removal or destruction of the slave. In a short time there will be as many slaves as can be profitably employed in labour at the south. What shall be done with the increase? Who will consent to their occupying the fertile regions of the west to the exclusion of our own children and descendants? In some form or other, unless this portion of our population be removed, these United States are doomed to suffer. And it is to be feared that extinction is the only alternative for the colored population, if their removal be not effected.

Emancipation furnishes no remedy for the evil. Emancipate all the slaves in our land and they only remain to multiply and eventually to be destroyed or to melt away like snow before the increasing

numbers and strength of the white population. From considerations already mentioned, they are irrevocably doomed to be a distinct and degraded people while they remain here. You will not marry them to your sons and daughters; you will not give them seats in your halls of legislation. You will not make them commanders of your armies and navies. You will not invite them to the bed side of sickness as practitioners of the healing art and what motive have they to induce them to remain in this land where they are looked upon as strangers and aliens, or to look forward to the posts of honor or offices of trust in which they are not suffered to bear a part?

For this evil there is only one remedy as yet devised, and that remedy is colonization. The African can have no certain abiding place in this land. What mighty nations have wasted piecemeal before the onward march of this nation to occupy the land in all its length and breadth. And can the black man expect any thing better? Benevolence itself urges us forward in the good work of preparing a home for the oppressed where he may go free, and of furnishing the means to remove him there. And the sooner this is done will our debt to Africa be discharged and ourselves be ready to sit down under the grateful reflection of having done our duty.

The Colonization Society has already prosecuted its benevolent object so far as it has been enabled by the money placed within its control. It has demonstrated the wisdom of the plan of Colonization. Thousands are looking to it as the only hope of our country and of Africa. The report of his brethren's prosperity in the land of their fathers, has reached the ears of the slave; new expectations and impulses fill his heart, and he longs for his fetters to drop, that he may join them. And many are the masters now waiting for the means to send them to Liberia, when the glad word shall be uttered, "go and the blessing of Israel's God go with you." Who in the love of our country and of the African, and of our God, will aid in furnishing the means?

Do you ask if the evil be so great and the demand for a remedy be so urgent, why our legislators do not interfere? Who

are our legislators? They are only our servants. They legislate to please us. The patriotism of which they boast, is nothing but their obedience to our will. In this, as in every other matter, we must go before them. When it is the people's wish, ten thousand patriots will arise to plead the cause of the negro and of our country, and every treasury in our land will open, of its own accord, to furnish the means of sending the African to his home.

The Colonization effort demands our aid on grounds which cannot be disregarded without doing violence to our consciences. It appeals to us, as Philanthropists, as Christians, as Patriots. It calls upon us as citizens of these United States, as the well wishers of every being who bears the form of man, to go forward in this benevolent enterprise. And if there be any one object more worthy of the prayers of Christians than another, it is this, so intimately connected with the temporal and eternal welfare of unnumbered millions, born and unborn.

4. Another benefit to be derived from the successful prosecution of the Colonization effort, is the suppression of the slave trade.

Much has been done by human legislation to suppress the traffic in slaves. The shores of Africa have been guarded and watched by fleets. But these efforts have failed to suppress it. For several years 100,000 slaves have been annually carried away from Africa.

Already, by the establishment of Colonies, has the trade been arrested along the coast for about two hundred miles. "Experience incontestibly establishes the fact that no other mode will stop this inhuman traffic. Do you desire it should be terminated? Are your feelings shocked that so many human beings prematurely suffer the most excruciating death by being crowded into slave ships? or do you revolt at the idea that the survivors are to waste their lives in bondage? If so, enlist under the banners of the Colonization Society, and you will effectually put a stop to the repetition of these cruelties."

Upon this part of the subject I need not dilate. Slavers dare not approach the colonies for the purpose of this nefarious traffic. Those engaged in such business

seek concealment. Besides, the traffic carried on between the colonists and the natives, enables the latter to purchase the articles for which they formerly exchanged their fellow man. The same temptations will no longer exist to sell to the slaver their children and friends, as well as the enemies they capture in war. The soil of Africa is abundantly fertile, and its rich products, together with those of its forests, may be exchanged for any article of foreign product or manufacture which may be in demand among them.—The slaver took the advantage of their degradation; first tempted their cupidity, and refused every thing in exchange but living flesh and blood. Open another and better market, and the common feelings of humanity will restrain even the benighted African from the unnatural and accursed traffick.

There is another thing which has great influence in suppressing the slave trade. Several of the chiefs and tribes of the natives have put themselves under the care and protection of the Colonists, and they deem it no small privilege to be permitted to bear the name of Americans. Many of the native tribes are anxious that Colonies may be planted and sustained in their territories; and of their own accord, they come to have their disputes adjusted in the courts of justice of the Colonists, voluntarily preferring a decision there made to the adjustment of their differences by their own laws and usages. In this way they learn justice—obtain knowledge of the principles of equity, exercise humanity, become civilized, and thus an effectual barrier is reared against this iniquitous, this horrid traffick.

Were this the only benefit to be derived from the successful prosecution of the Colonization effort, this society is deserving of the cordial support of every individual.—What wretchedness,—what misery, what appalling scenes of distress will it not prevent? How many thousands will it save annually from death, or from sufferings and servitude more bitter than death?

5. Another benefit to be derived from a successful prosecution of the colonization effort is the civilizing and christianizing of Africa.

I have alluded to the influence which

the colonists already exert over the native tribes in their vicinity. Such facts prove that the natives not only can but will be civilized. "They already begin to perceive, that it is civilization and the blessings of religion that give superiority to man over his fellow man. They had supposed it was the white skin; but now they see, in their neighborhood, men of their own color, enjoying all the advantages, hitherto peculiar to the former. This has elicited a spirit of inquiry which must tend to their benefit. The Philanthropist may anticipate the day, when our language and our religion will spread over this now benighted land.—The very spot, where now exists a free people, was a depot for the reception of manacled slaves."

When tribes of natives come and pay willing homage to civilization, depend upon it, the work with them is commenced and will be finished with proper effort and care. In their travels around the world, science and learning started from Africa, and they will there again find a home. The dark cloud that now hangs over Africa—poor degraded and despised Africa, will ere long be dispelled, and the sun of science will shine upon her, bright as upon Egypt of old, and the blessings of civilized life will cluster around every abode of man throughout her wide extent.

The ways of God are often mysterious. He alone can tell for what sin it is that his judgments have fallen so severely upon that fated land. But who cannot see his wisdom in the movements which are now going forward. Africa is to be christianized and her own sons are the chosen means of bearing them the gospel in their return from the house of bondage. The climate of many parts of Africa is fatal to the white man. To the African it is not and he is to be the chosen messenger of Christ, the bearer of the glad tidings of great joy to his brethren.

A writer in the Repository for September last, observes that "the restoration and establishment of her own children as instructed and religious communities, on her shores, promises more for the civilizing and christianizing of Africa than any other means that can be devised. They

can enjoy health beneath her vertical sun. No physical distinction forbids their amalgamation with her tribes. All the products of her soil and of her rivers, and all the wealth of her mines, wait for their possession. No superior or more powerful race is there to be dreaded; no hand of violence stretched out to rob them of the blessings of a merciful providence. They go there to be the unmolested dispensers of good to their brethren and to find their present duty identified with their present interests. They go to heal the wounds of humanity—to impart courage to the timid and hope to the disconsolate—to raise up the fallen, and speak of mercy to the distressed—to enlighten the dark minded, and to sound out the trumpet notes of salvation over the desert and waste places of human life. They go to unchain millions of souls fettered in the bondage of death and to bring them into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

In this benefit conferred upon Africa, this society commends itself to every man of benevolence. Who can suffer his mind to dwell on the condition of the fifty millions of benighted pagans on that continent "without God and without hope in the world," and not feel the obligations resting upon him to send them the gospel.—And I see no way in which this is to be done but the one proposed by this society. Several of our fellow citizens have already fallen victims to the climate of Africa,—and thousands must fall before the work is accomplished, if it depend upon missionaries of our own nation and color. But let colonies be established and from them will be constantly issuing forth, men who love God, to intermarry and amalgamate with the natives, and to preach the Gospel to those who sit "in the region and shadow of death." Upon colonists, and those who through their efforts shall become preachers, does the great work of evangelizing Africa depend. And one is almost constrained to believe that God has permitted the African to be sold into bondage, that, on his return to the land of his fathers, he may carry back with him to the many millions of his brethren, the freedom of the gospel—the liberty of Jesus Christ;—and that he has permitted this as the wisest and best means of converting Africa to himself.

In supporting the Colonization Society, we are following the leadings of divine providence in the great work of civilizing and evangelizing Africa. We are giving our countenance to the most effectual means of suppressing the slave trade. We aid in the removal of a great moral and political evil from our country, and one too, which is increasing at a fearful rate. We are conferring upon the free colored population of our country, the most substantial benefits in providing for them a home, where they may be free and happy.—And we are aiding powerfully in the preservation of the peace and union of the beloved country in whose welfare we are all most deeply interested.

Objections have been made to the Colonization society that it tends to perpetuate slavery—is and must be expensive in its operations while the good it accomplishes is limited—that the plan of colonizing is attended with great loss of life, and that it degrades the negro and serves to increase the difficulty of his amalgamation with the whites.

But these objections are of little weight when duly considered and compared with the facts in the case. To the 1st objection it may be replied, that instead of perpetuating slavery, this society, by demonstrating the practicability of planting colonies on the coasts of Africa and by the moral influence of its humane and benevolent efforts and principles, is exerting a powerful influence in favor of emancipation. The good it has already accomplished, is incalculably great—one third of the population of Liberia have been set free through the influence of colonization. And when the means for their removal shall be furnished, many stand ready to emancipate their slaves. The duty of liberating their slaves was never pressed so powerfully on the conscience of the slave holder as it is done through the operations of this society.—How trifling then, as it appears to me, is this objection.

To the 2d objection it may be replied, that no one can doubt it will require the expenditure of much money to remove two and a half millions of people to Liberia. But the sum is too small to be mentioned in comparison with the ability of

these United States. And the time cannot be very far distant, when the emigrants from this country to Africa will gladly, to the extent of their ability, defray their own expenses. We owe to Africa a national debt to the amount of all it will cost to send back her sons, and by its payment, the wealth of our nation will be a thousand fold increased. A nation of the wealth and resources of ours should blush to talk of the expense of sending two and a half millions of people to Africa. It will soon cost incalculably more to maintain them here than it will now to remove them.

In relation to the loss of human life attendant upon efforts to colonize in Africa, it has already been remarked to be very small. Acclimation is very easy, especially to southern constitutions.—We expect that many will die in the early settlement of a country. Many parts of this state have suffered as much if not more from sickness, in their first settlement, than the colony of Liberia. And a comparison of the loss of life and the expense attending the first settlement of this country and that of Liberia is decidedly in favor of the latter. Mr. Frelinghuysen, in one of his late speeches, thus contrasts the colony of Liberia with the first settlement of Virginia. "The latter was settled in May, 1607, and before September, fifty had perished, and their number was reduced to thirty eight. In 1609 they were reinforced to the number of five hundred. In six months they were reduced to sixty. Again reinforced in 1622, three hundred and forty seven were destroyed by the savages. Of nine thousand souls sent out, only eighteen hundred at this time remained. In fifteen years, seven thousand and two hundred were lost. And yet Liberia, in twelve years, cheered by no royal favor and sustained by no governmental patronage, progressing amid obloquy and scorn and indifference, now numbers more than three thousand happy and redeemed souls who there enjoy the privileges and hopes of freemen."

The objection to the society that it degrades the negro, is, like all others, without much force. The negro is as degraded as he can well be, by causes for which this society is not responsible.

This degradation the society pleads as an insuperable obstacle in the way of his advancement here. This is the sum and substance of its offending. And what can be done for the negro likely to change his condition for the better short of a removal to Africa? "You may call him free,—you may protect his rights by legislation—you may invoke the spirit of humanity and of christian benevolence to bless him—but still he is degraded. A thousand malignant influences around him are conspiring to wither all that is manly and noble in his nature." While he remains in this country, these causes will operate to his disadvantage. Instead then of degrading him, this society furnishes the only rational prospect of elevating his character and restoring him to happiness and honor.

In whatever light we view this society, we find it commending itself to our cordial support. And if that support be commensurate with the interest which, in view of the facts before us, we cannot but feel as christians, as patriots, and philanthropists, it will not be in vain that the appeal is now made. By coming nobly forward to sustain the society, let us testify the interest we feel in the welfare of our country, in the good to be conferred upon our colored population and in the civil and religious prosperity we seek to give to the fifty millions of the continent of Africa.

Let me close this address in the language of the colonists contained in their circular to their brethren in the United States. "It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to God, that we were ever conducted by his providence to this shore. Such great favors, in so short a time and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but his special blessing. We only want the gratitude which such signal favors call for.—Men may theorize and speculate in America about the plans of the American Colonization Society, but there is no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of Christian instruction and scenes of Christian worship which are heard and seen in this land of brooding

pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen, united in forming a new Christian empire, happy themselves and instruments of happiness to others—every

object—every individual is an argument, is demonstration of the wisdom and goodness of the plan of colonization.”



Extracts from a Review of Anti-Slavery Publications, and defence of the Colonization Society.—By HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

“Let us calmly examine the scheme in its simplicity and singleness of purpose. It proposes to colonize, with their own consent, the free people of colour. It is addressed, then, exclusively to the free; and our states abound with such. Holding no right or power of constraint, the Society offers its patronage and protection to all who may be willing to accept of these benefits, and emigrate to Liberia. Now, in the light of truth and Christian principles, is there a feature of such a plan, that should expose it to the charge of cruelty or oppression? Suppose the experiment were yet untried; might it not fairly put in its claims among the thousand adventures, to which benevolence, commerce and science prompt, in this day of enterprise? But it has been tried, to the satisfaction, contentment, and happiness of many hundreds of coloured men. And there are strong reasons which should persuade this people gladly to embrace the offer. However much we may condemn it, the fact is, that the free blacks in this country are in a degraded condition. They are a depressed and separate race; excluded from the privileges of freemen. They enjoy no share of our political, and but a small part of our social privileges. We have seen these causes in constant operation for many years; and however we may and ought to deplore it, yet the depression exists, and the lines of separation are as deep and as palpable as ever.”

“In this distinct community, the demonstration has been made, that the African is equal to the duties of a freeman.—His mind expands, as his condition improves. This settlement pleads the cause of freedom with strong and constant emphasis. Its first effect is, to draw forth our sympathies for the black man, not as

heretofore, and for long generations, a poor, oppressed and degraded being; but as the elevated citizen of a government, free as our own, favoured as our own, and by the blessing of God, destined to become as populous and great. These sympathies extend themselves over the whole race. Liberia stands the representative of all her people. The most wretched tribe in Africa is raised to a more hopeful condition by this relation. The coloured man, over the whole earth, is reached by this elevating fellowship.”

“Nor is this all; scope is here afforded for an interesting comparison. The mind will trace it, and mark the contrast between the African at Liberia and his brother among ourselves. The master of slaves will almost unconsciously fall into a train of reflection, that will strikingly distinguish between the abject being under his dominion, and his more favoured kinsman on the coast of Africa. And the plea will be heard and respected—“if the simple process of colonization thus brings out the long neglected functions of my fellow man, if I can thus enlarge his capacities for usefulness and happiness; wherefore shall I detain him from such exalted destiny? If I can thus add to the stock of human blessings; justice, reason and conscience persuade me, that I should delight in the occasion.”—And such has been its silent operation. Emancipation has followed closely in the steps of this enterprise. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, all of them slave-holding states, have by decided manifestations of public sentiment commended and approved of the plans and objects of the Colonization Society.”

“Moreover, the degraded condition of this people in their own country, has heretofore been one of the palliatives em-

ployed to countenance the existence of slavery. And it is often urged, with great truth and effect. Many of the Africans are, probably, improved by their translation to the kind care of humane and generous masters. The results of the Colony, have shewn this apology of all its strength. We no longer look upon Africa as one unbroken mass of ignorance and wretchedness. There are green spots that delight and refresh the eye of Philanthropy; and this Colony is one of them."

"These take away the reproach of her desolateness, and raise an argument for her oppressed children, that will be heard and heeded to the ends of the earth.—The proprietor of slaves can no longer compose his occasional disquietude, by the plausible pretext, that it fares better with his slaves, than it could at home.—The Colony corrects his erroneous estimate. It spreads before him all its rich blessings; points him to a well ordered society, to its halls of legislation, its seats of judgment, and its temples of worship, all filled by redeemed captives, rejoicing in their privileges. It invites him to look in upon its useful industry and extending commerce, upon its peaceful and hallowed Sabbaths, and its internal tranquility; and persuades him, with an energy that no motives ever could before, to turn over a new page on this subject. These considerations have often prevailed with the owners of slaves. They regard the question not, as heretofore, in the light of dominion and property, but in the relations which man sustains to his fellow man."

"Before we conclude this paper, we beg a moment's further attention to the probable influence of the colony upon the native tribes of Africa. And here the subject rises to an elevation and takes hold of interests, that might well engage an angel's thought. A whole continent of sixty millions of immortal beings, sunk in ignorance and sin, sends up a cry for redemption. If philanthropy had now

for the first time directed its concern towards this unhappy people, and was seeking for the most effect agency, we venture to affirm, that among its earliest measures, would be that of a christian settlement among them, and above all, one of their own colour and kindred.—Such a community, planted in the neighbourhood of an ignorant race, and exhibiting before them all the civil, religious and social duties and relations, in full subsistence and operation, will exert a moral influence in extent and duration beyond our calculations. It opens a perennial fountain, that will send forth a thousand streams of salvation. These will strike their channels into every famishing waste, will make glad the wilderness, and cause the deserts to sing for joy."

"Liberia sustains these hopeful relations, and justifies all these animating prospects. Much has already been done. The native tribes look on and wonder.—They behold their countrymen enjoying all the blessings of the most favoured nation. They may not at once apprehend the cause of the difference; but they see it, and feel it, and will very soon learn the reason, and teach it to others. The report of the colony will travel forth from tribe to tribe, waking up the sympathies of a long neglected and forsaken people. Her coasts will soon be lined by Christian settlements, which will gradually invade the interior regions of darkness and pollution. The African missionary from Liberia, will meet his Christian brother from the Cape of Good Hope, and they will mingle in prayer and praise together. The light will spread from mountain to valley, and from river to river, until the sleep of ages shall be broken, and the song of salvation fill the chorus of a redeemed and regenerated continent. Then will Africa's first tribute of praise ascend to God; the gracious giver of all these mercies; and next, will the blessing of many ready to perish come upon the Colonization Society."